/xiv cont./

124 individuals as informants, both men and women, in various parts of La Guajira Peninsula, the natural habitat of the Indians to whom we refer. They have, consequently, at least a margin of sufficiently high reliability, as the check thus obtained allowed for the clarification, confirmation, and correction of all data which were taken down in the preliminary study.

114 We would have liked to start this monograph with a description however brief of the geographical surroundings in which the Indians of La Guajira live, but on this subject we would refer the reader to the previous number of this review in which he will find an article written by my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, entitled Aspects de la Magia en la Guajira /Aspects of Magic in La Guajira/, in which there is a brief summary of the geography of the peninsula. However, in some of the chapters of this treatise certain references to the geography of the peninsula will be found, as we have considered them to be indispensable for clearing up certain social and economic phenomena which otherwise would have remained obscure, because the economy, as will be gathered from reading this present work, plays a very important part in the functioning of Guajiro institutions.

128 The reader, furthermore, will find certain repetitions in the different aspects treated herein, but this is also due to our desire to leave nothing ambiguous or unclear. Many of the conflicting situations faced by the individual, occurring at different times and in regard to various legal institutions, have given rise to different reactions and phenomena which we felt needed clarification, and consequently we have been obliged to repeat them on the different occasions when they have had to be considered.

58 182 It may also be observed that the chapter on marriage is the longest of all, and it is in that very chapter that most repetitions and references to past and future reported situations will be found. Marriage in La Guajira may be considered to be the basis of all social organization, for it is via marriage /xv/

/xv cont./

58 182 -- the basis of the family -- that the individual makes contact with other family cells, with different clan groups, and, together, with the social group in general. It can be affirmed without fear of error that marriage is, both directly and indirectly, vitally important to the whole social organization of La Guajira, to its economic systems as well as to aspects of the spiritual life of the community, as in it one finds the security and stability of the clan group, the fundamental basis of La Guajira organization. On looking into certain aspects of customary law among these indigeneous people, one can appreciate that this is effective only if the clan group which considers itself the injured party has sufficient power to enforce the required compensation payments, or indemnities; otherwise, the law will not function. And, as it is the clan and, in the final analysis, the small family group which has to stand up to aggressions against the code for individual and collective security, making itself in this way the true representative of the individual, one can gather how great is the importance of the institution of marriage in Guajiro life.

We do not wish to finish this introduction without recording our grateful appreciation to the director of the Instituto Etnológico Nacional, licentiate Luis Duque Gómez, for all the facilities he has put at our disposal in making this study and to our fellow expedition members, who at all times assisted us in the collection of data. We are also especially indebted to my husband, licentiate Roberto Pineda Giraldo, who supplied various reports obtained in the field for this study, and who at all times lent his collaboration in its ordering and presentation. /xvi/

/57 cont./

881 will soon be bought with heads of cattle. This signifies that her value will be high, such as corresponds to a woman of standing. She likewise takes great care that her hair does not fall into strange hands, as it is believed that it might be used 882 by some man who wants to do her harm by making with it a magic charm which would have the quality of causing her to fall in love with him; he on his part would scorn her and abuse her, as she would be left submissive to his will.

After the haircutting she is dressed in the traditional costume of an adult woman and is decked out with the customary jewelry and ornaments in accord with her family rank. She receives this jewelry from her mother, from her maternal aunts, and from her grandmother, and they are placed on her by the woman charged with caring for her or by a well-to-do kinswoman, so that they may never be lost. After this, they apply the facial painting, also for the first time, which, it being a feast day, should be made from red annatta /bija/. Then she makes her appearance at the feast, and she may dance and be courted. At this moment, crucial for her life, she must give signs of adult capabilities, showing evidence of the worth of the years of her novitiate, not only in the physical aspect of her fair skin and dark hair, in her mature figure, in her dress and ornaments, but also in the proper fulfillment of cultural patterns. The relatives carry on the feast as long as they can or think in keeping with their position. Afterward, the woman, ready now for marriage and motherhood, starts to comply with the patterns established in her culture for the adult woman.

881 Summarizing, we can say that the initiation of young
882 women has the following characteristics: /58/

1. It has the significance of a new birth, preceded by a process of spiritual-physical transformation which converts the girl into an adult woman.

2. It is a system of preparation for adult social life, in the sense that /by its means/ are acquired knowledge of proper cultural patterns.

/58 cont./

881 182

3. It represents a period of apprenticeship during which she acquires mastery of the general techniques of the culture and the specific ones pertaining to her family.

4. From the knowledge obtained from the past history of her consanguineous family group, the initiate is identified with it, giving rise to the reaffirmation of the bonds of union, as an adult member participating in it.

5. It is a period of preparation for the perfect fulfillment of the socio-physical function of motherhood.

6. Lastly, it constitutes a thorough training in the biological and social functions of the woman in carrying out well her role as a wife. /59/

IV

PREMARITAL CONSIDERATIONS

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Independence of the man. In the Guajiro family organization the man occupies a privileged position which is apparent from his childhood onward.

The father, as we have seen, hopes that his first-born will be a boy, and the maternal family also cheerfully accepts that wish, as it is the male elements that strengthen and give prestige to the family, who defend it in disputes with other groups, and who can help the group forward as a powerful economic factor.

For these reasons Guajiro boys are reared with more freedom and privileges than girls. In the absence of the father, the eldest son, or in any case the male child, takes the father's place in important matters in the home, being consulted by his mother, who respects his opinion, and he occupies his father's place and has his privileges at meals.

[146 cont.]

If we accept the idea that the Guajiro are descended from the Arawak of the Guianas, with whom they are intimately connected both by their language and culture, there is nothing strange to be found in the formation of the name Mareiwa from mali, male (the l and the r do not exist in the Guajiro language), and fwa, words that are used to name stars and in consequence must be related to the general Arawak cosmogony. In any case, the linguistic association of star-rain-god-divinity confirms the statement which we have made that Mareiwa [147] is none other than the propitiatory spirit of the rains, and by the same token, that of good harvests, of abundance, and of well-being.

The harsh geographical conditions of La Guajira and the technical incapacity of the native to dominate and put them in his service without incurring the great inconveniences which are above all occasioned by the climate, have caused this being (Mareiwa) to be raised to first position in the category of protector spirits of the community. Also, the changes brought about in their economy during past centuries have contributed to this advance in status, because since the introduction of stock grazing, winter has become more and more indispensable for the maintenance of pasture, without which the stock would suffer serious losses. We have no data relating to the myths or religion of these Indians at the time of the Conquest but what *we have unearthed and the fact that there is a veritable* confusion with respect to the origin and functions of Mareiwa point to the fact that, in a certain way, the Guajiro are living in a state of transition with regard to their divinities, we might almost say a moment of true creation of their gods which has not yet been definitively achieved, and for which contact with western civilization has created difficulties which by now are practically insurmountable.

Wanurú. As we referred extensively to the wanurú when we were speaking of sickness and the shaman, we shall add only a few details here and systematize the knowledge we have acquired about this matter up to now.

1. The wanurú can harm the Guajiro bodily and spiritually, bodily by means of such sicknesses as attack men, animals,

[151] Conclusions

Magic shows itself to be one of the strongest institutions of Guajiro culture despite the fact that, as we have shown throughout this study, it is gradually losing its importance in proportion to the lowering of the shaman's prestige as the spiritual leader of the group. This is due to the already mentioned factors of proseletyzing and acculturation on a rising scale, brought about by the influence of a continually increasing number of civilizado elements in the peninsula, as well as by the consequences of the acculturation experienced by the members of the society. However, it is magic that still dominates many of the aspects of the native's daily life, not to say the greater part, and it is this that we are trying to synthesize and briefly explain in this chapter.

1. Economy. The Guajiro's life, as we saw in the introduction is strictly dependent on the tyrannically dominating climate, given the conditions of the peninsula where this community lives, relying as they do on the seasonal fluctuations of rain to which they have adapted their system of agriculture and stock grazing, essential sources of their economy. As the people's livelihood directly depends on these, the Guajiro, lacking the higher techniques of irrigation and water conservation, puts his hope of survival in methods of magic, whether they be personal, collective, or directly exercised by the curer-magician of the community. These are no other than the exorcisms carried out by the latter to attract the rains in the long summers by invoking his protector spirits and especially Mareiwa, the personification of good and of rain; or the adoration and ceremonies in honor of the iguana carried out by private individuals with the same end in view; or, in short, all the methods of magic we have enumerated in connection with the natural phenomenon of rain.

Also in respect to the economy we must remember the presence of women when the sowing of crops is done, which establishes a division of work by sex based on the magic association of the transmission of feminine fecundity to the seeds.

[152] Moreover, faced with the new phenomenon of stock grazing, the native has adapted his magic methods to this, imposing the same or similar treatments used for the members of the

[182 cont.]

177 253 789 community, especially in cases of illness and pestilences, as can be seen in the section "Shamanistic treatment of animals" in Chapter II. If, on one hand, stock grazing partly changed some of the social system related to magic, on the other hand, at the same time it has also felt the influence of this institution to the point of acquiring its own characteristics which differentiate it from other systems of stock grazing, which follow, in general, the lines laid down by the Spanish colonists. Magic is sui generis and plays its part today, as the oldest institution can, in Guajiro culture.

789 Moreover, not only in the collective sense but in the individual, the action of magic on the economy shows itself very clearly in the charm [contra] to make oneself rich, which we have described in detail in Chapter VI and which, as is logical within the Guajiro social dynamic, is connected to such important social matters as status, as we shall see later.

In the chapter which we have called "Magic as the Origin of the Theater in La Guajira," we may also see the effectiveness [789] of magic in the private economy, since the owner of a piece of cultivated land is the one who organizes at his own expense the dance and fiesta given to attract the blessing of the good spirits, of Mareiwa on the crops, which require sufficient rain and certain climatic conditions to ripen. So great is their confidence that they believe that the more solemn the ceremony of the Dance of the Kid, the more benefit will be received from the spirits they invoke and fete, and the greater the probability of success for the harvest.

182 619 789 2. Society. Guajiro society, as we have said, has transferred a great part of the responsibility for its survival and stability to magic and has a tranquil confidence in it, convinced of its effectiveness and holding firmly to an institutional determinism which only now is beginning to break down fundamentally. The cultural institution of magic represents to the individual Guajiro a system of life, thought, and belief which unites him to his group as much as does the consanguineous tie and the established clan system. Magic is the general and generalized institution, essentially independent of the characteristic social divisions

[152 cont.]

182 brought about by the family and clan organization; it embraces
789 all the community without distinction and influences and de-
[619] termines it in many of its aspects. [153]

For this reason magic is bound up closely with their regimen for personal security and collective stability in three ways: 1) because it establishes a series of preventative norms aimed at defending the individual and the community from possible evils provoked by the concurrence of natural or supernatural, physical or psychic phenomena; 2) because it possesses adequate methods of treating the evils, which the individuals of the community, by transgressing the cultural patterns, bring upon themselves, thus affecting them in their persons or interests; 3) because it instills the belief in the community that any infraction of the established norms can provoke abnormal happenings which work against their stability.

182 We would say, then, that in the first place the shaman
+956 with his methods of magic is an institution created to maintain, defend, and even restore the regimen of stability to the community and its members as will be seen by the short enumeration of the following facts.

a) Medication for illness to restore the health of the patients.

b) Propitiation of the rains, indispensable for agriculture, the growth and conservation of pastures (the essential factor for stock grazing), and the maintenance of fresh water in the wells and water holes, as much for the use of the members of the community as for the sustenance of the stock.

c) Warding off pestilences and epidemics, both in humans and in animals, directed first to the saving of life among the individuals of the community and second to the defense of their interests represented by the stock -- the support of their economy and of their existence.

d) Prevention of the effects of dreams, which within Guajiro mental mechanics correspond to actual realities as revelations of the future, anticipatory announcements of things that are going to happen within the community and which will affect one or
[182] more persons in their social group. This is one of the origins, as we have seen, for the animal sacrifices which have so much importance in the daily lives of these Indians.

[153 cont.]

182 *756 e) Defense of the community and the individual from the harmful influence of evil spirits, an influence which largely expresses itself in personal and communal illnesses.

554 *756 In exchange for all these services given by the shaman, the community offers him as payment, on one hand, their backing, respect, admiration, and even fear, and on the other hand, material goods which consolidate his status of privilege, such as necklaces, cloth, jewels in general, animals, and money.

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182 741 [154] In accordance with the previously established division between magic and the foretelling of the future in Chapter IV, we should now state that the diviner, like the shaman, serves to maintain, defend, and restore the regimen for individual security and collective stability, an affirmation which we have based on the following functions which he performs:

a) Discovery through divination of the causes of illnesses, thus permitting the prescribing of adequate medication, with great probability of success for the patient, who is generally a child.

[685] b) Also through divination the restoration of lost objects and the discovery of the thief — factor in the breaking of the regimen for personal security — so that the thief may suffer the penalties with which society punishes those who violate the cultural norms concerning personal property.

[787] c) Divination by which, when husbands are absent from home, their state of health can be ascertained and their wives can provide them with rapid and effective help.

d) Determination, in the last instance, of a novice's "vocation" or lack of "vocation" in the science of shamanism, a decision which is of great importance for the community in general, since on it depends whether the community has in its future magician a defender of its regimen for stability, a counselor and spiritual director, or, on the contrary, a charlatan on whom the protector spirits have not descended to illuminate him and who

182 791 [154 cont.]
is for this reason most probably a moral and material fraud.

We have to remember that there are two fundamental facts
956 787 with respect to divination: 1) that the shaman can be both things, magician and diviner, which increases his position and prestige; and 2) that any individual can learn for his personal use and the good of others the methods of divination, which do not require, as they do in the case of the shaman, the illumination and constant presence of the protector spirits who exercise their domination over the individual in whom they dwell and whom they submit entirely to their will.

• • •

182 626 789 Ordinary magic, that is, that which does not depend on the shaman or the diviner, but is rooted in popular belief and is like a code of preventative norms tending to avoid the breaking of institutionalized cultural patterns, is also a true regimen for [155] stability. It clearly indicates that if this or that norm is violated, the individual will suffer the punishment in himself, in his offspring, or in his family group, such as, for example:
a) nonattendance at burials, not assisting in the digging of graves, not looking on the lowering of bodies into the grave, etc., on the part of both parents when the woman is pregnant.

b) The prohibition against approaching children or sick people after having touched a corpse.

c) The precautions that a pregnant woman should take on meeting a snake.

d) The ceremony that should be practiced with the corpse of a first-born child.

e) The restriction imposed on a pregnant woman's husband regarding hunting with modern firearms.

f) Finally, the observation of all those norms whose violation may adversely affect the actual birth or the health of the newborn baby by causing the mother to be upset and ill before or during childbirth.

g) We may also see this action of magic in the use of different kinds of charms (fetishes, amulets, talismans), in the express prohibition of not pronouncing the personal name of an

[155 cont.]

182 626 789 individual or of the dead, in the aspect which we have called "Omens and Augural Birds," in the behavior followed by individuals who wish to call up a breeze during a windless calm at sea or to send away eclipses and lightning which, according to their belief, are malevolent.

• • •

789 595 A very interesting aspect of magic is its use for and against some of the cultural institutions and their institutionalized patterns; for example, the use of love charms and the compliance with certain norms after the period of seclusion accompanying the ceremonies at the time of a young woman's initiation. Her aim is to fight against polygamy, with a view either to obtaining predominance over other wives or, better, to prevent the man who has acquired her for his wife from acquiring more women with whom she would have to share his life. Possibly due to the influence of acculturation, there is a tendency toward monogamy on the part of the women. The men, however, tend toward polygamy for prestige, since for it they must have a good economical position, as the price of women is high, increasingly so the greater their social position.

[177] [654]

751 771 881 [156] *Another institution that we see directly affected by* magic is this same initiation of young women. We saw how the death of a first-born child required a series of ceremonies to prevent future children dying at birth, one after the other, and we stated that one of the principal ceremonies consisted in the observance of certain norms which bring to mind very clearly the initiation of the young mother. Their idea would seem to be that one of the causes of the death of the first-born was the deficient carrying out of the magic-biological-social ceremonial to which the girl must submit to prepare for her life as an adult.

[156]

764 775 771 626 Also the norms relating to the dead and the belief in a life beyond the grave rest almost exclusively on magic, and through it their prestige and their functioning are kept up. Magic is also the cause of the fear and respect which relatives and friends show to their dead, and it is magic which also promotes all the ceremonial rites that are celebrated in this connection.

[158 cont.]

meat of animals sacrificed during the wake of a deceased member of the family. The murderer's self-denial of all solid food in his daily diet is another proof of the intervention of magic in the aspect of the Guajiro's nourishment. The ceremonies of propitiation for rain and the ripening of the harvests are other palpable demonstrations of the intervention of magic in this way.

c) And, finally, in relation to aggression, we see the very marked influence of magic, particularly in the charms which are used to cause injury to certain people: for example, those made of a young woman's hair, the blood of a hummingbird, the tail of a dog, and achiote to make a girl fall in love with a man who later intends to betray her; or the one used by women who, having bought a talisman from a woman expert in those matters, place it in the clothes of a man whom they wish to harm after acquiring an old sandal of his and burning it, so as to cause him bodily and mental injury. Furthermore, magic forewarns and allows an individual to foresee the acts of aggression of which he or a clan or a family group is going to be the victim by the interpretation of the shaman's dream or that of a private person, as was seen in the section "Magic and dreams" in Chapter VIII. The effect of magic on the regimen for individual security and collective stability tends to be that of saving the person or the group, as the case may be, from acts of aggression on the part of potential enemies, such acts being foreseen through magic means properly interpreted.

Names of Plants and Animals

Plants:

achiote (Bixa orellana)
ahuyama [squash] (Cucurbita máxima)
artemisia (f. Synanthereae or Compositae)
indigo (f. Leguminosae)
cardon (Pilocereus atroviridis)
mahogany cedar (fam. Cedrilaceae, Sp. Mahogoni of Linnaeus)
lupine (Abrus precatorius) [Indian licorice]

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
SC13 Goajiro SC13

cordial, no fights or even harsh words between them was ever noticed, and when Perez was arrested, as mentioned before, his wife showed great concern and distress and did everything possible to have him released from jail and brought home. Still the question of how much real affection, especially on Perez's part, is involved in this marriage cannot be answered with certainty. As regards the grantings of favors to the Guajiro, it is obvious that he makes a careful selection and never or hardly ever grants them to individuals who could not, in the future, be of some help to him.

Whether or not Perez will attain a position of respect and leadership such as Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez enjoy is hard to say, but the writer will try to make an analysis of the situation and draw certain tentative conclusions.

There is no doubt that clan leadership with all its privileges and responsibilities is slowly dying out in the Guajira. Among the 25 odd clans existing at present the writer has met only two individuals who have all the earmarks of a true economic, political, and social leader, namely, Panchito Silva and José de la Rosa Fernandez. Informants have told him that there are two others, the heads of the Epinayú and the Epieyú clans living in the upper Guajira and in Colombia respectively. From what information was gathered these two other leaders fit closely to the pattern described for Silva and Fernandez. The remainder of the clans have no true, powerful leaders, although they do have elder members who are more or less respected and consulted in certain clan matters. Around the turn of the century, however, according to the information gathered first hand from old men like Silva and Fernandez, and from the literature, there were at least twenty powerful leaders among the clans.

Undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the breakdown of clan leadership has been the great horizontal movement in population among the Guajiro in the last fifty years. Such spread would tend, naturally, to break down the regional characteristics of the clan and ultimately help to bring about a loss of personal contact between a leader and the rest of his clan and hence the loss of control. Whether there are other economic, social, or political factors in operation favoring this breakdown is not fully known. The writer suspects that there may be but this problem would need further intensive investigation. The

9: Santa Cruz E-5 (1958) 1960
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writer hopes in future researches to complete the picture of leadership among the Guajiro and the present breakdown in their social organization.

As mentioned above, traditional form clan leadership is obtained either through inheritance or by selection made by a council of elders. Perez's case is entirely different and he has followed white culture means and ways, more or less, in obtaining leadership in Guajiro society irrespective of clan organization. In other words, he has become, in certain aspects, a leader of the Guajiro as a whole and not of a particular clan. It is to be expected that as more and more Guajiro individuals go to Maracaibo for higher education, these new methods, such as those utilized by Perez, of attaining status will become stronger and will also be a contributing factor in the final breakdown of the traditional clan leadership. Some years must pass, however, to determine conclusively whether this is the path that leadership in the Guajira will take. At the moment four important clans still have their traditional leaders—the Pushiana, Uriana, Epinayú, and Epieyú—with strong and well definied heirs to their present leaders; and as long as the inheritance lines remain firm, clan leadership among these four clans will cling to the traditional. The rest of the clans, having lost their lines of inheritance and lacking men of strong personality to become their unquestioned leaders, will tend, we predict, to fall in step with new leaders of the Perez type. Such leaders will, undoubtedly, become more numerous as the acculturation processes go forward.

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